1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 177
series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy
Kanuri traders have established with the European trading com-
panies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44
fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439
ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 554 452
who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the
heads of large households. At the other end are the small re-
tailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit,
who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 276
of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade.
The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola
nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at
all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women,
adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494]
by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by
truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435]
the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the sea-
son, much more widely than any other item sold in the market.
Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at
a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492]
to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large
quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more
remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

44 439 • 276 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

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constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kali)."

The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle? Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-

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*177 • 276 273 [784] European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found [792] [441] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 291 *829 The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, *[634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against *[463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger. *[565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

Table XXII

*177 • 276 273 *565 *463 *554

9, 10. Smoking cigarettes; drinking beer.

	9. Do you smoke cigarettes? yes	used to	no	10. Do you drink beer? yes	used to	no
Aristocracy	2	-	3	1	-	4
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	6	-	-	6
NA Malams	1	1	4	-	1	5
Kabuna	-	-	6	1	-	5
Craftsmen	-	1	5	-	1	5
Talaka	3	-	5	1	1	6
Low-status Individuals	2	-	2	-	-	4
Totals:	8	2	34	3	3	38

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 ### The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization [571] with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been discussed (see above pp. 80 - 92). 571 There is however a larger scale process of fission and fusion which 621 integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

517 teming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 [554] quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

• 276 (273) The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts, millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Maguneri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both